

Smiting Pharaohs

The Poetics of Violence and Power in Ancient Egypt

ROSELYN A. CAMPBELL

Although many people would like to believe that violence happens because “bad” people do bad things simply by virtue of being bad, some of the most egregious examples of violence have been perpetrated in the name of virtue, honor, and noble ideals (Eller 2010, 11). Violence has been used as a legitimate, accepted, and even expected tool of power and control by rulers in complex societies through time and space. Whitehead’s (2004; 2007, 6) work on the poetics of violence has noted that such violent “performances” derive their meaning from the purposeful use of culture- and context-specific ritual, symbolism, and ideology. The violent and often public manipulation of human bodies by rulers provides a vivid reification of identities, social mores, and ideologies. When interpreting evidence of violence in archaeological remains, it thus becomes all important to understand the way that the participants would have viewed the violent act.

It is not simply the violent act itself that exploits and manipulates these cultural reference points, however; the way that a human body is processed before, during, and after an act of violence also draws upon cultural ideas of desecration and preservation, justice and injustice, what is appropriate and what is inappropriate, to reinforce, obscure, or complicate the meaning of the violence itself. Victims of violence may be mutilated and displayed, ritually destroyed, or buried with honor. Both the violent act itself and the treatment of the body are processes fraught with cultural meaning that, when conducted by ruling powers, can manipulate symbols and ideology for a variety of purposes. In this light, this chapter assesses examples of

state-sanctioned, violent manipulation of the human body in ancient Egypt, both before and after death, and the way that such bodily processing was used as a tool of power and control.

POETICS AND PROCESSING BODIES

As John Carman has pointed out, violence “is something of which all human beings seem to be capable, and at the same time an attribute of humanity that we would choose to deny” (Carman 1997, 2). Recent scholarship has yielded noteworthy studies analyzing and contextualizing violence in past cultures throughout the world (Knüsel and Smith 2013; Martin and Frayer 1997; Martin, Harrod, and Pérez 2012; Porter and Schwartz 2012; Ralph 2013; Redfern 2017). Intraspecies violence has existed for at least as long as modern *Homo sapiens* has walked the planet, and the occurrence, and indeed prevalence, of violence in seemingly every human society through time has led many scholars to suggest that violence is in some way an integral part of the biological makeup of humankind (Berger and Trinkaus 1995; Eller 2010; Turpin and Kurtz 1997; Zollikofer et al. 2002). The question of whether humans are biologically predisposed toward violence is a complex one, and has been the subject of much heated debate (Thrift 2007; Turpin and Kurtz 1997; Whitehead 2004). However, focusing on *why* humans are violent tends to prioritize biological mandates, often ignoring or minimizing the social and cultural contexts that determine *how* and *when* violence occurs (Turpin and Kurtz 1997; Whitehead 2007). The circumstances under which killing may be called murder, justice, punishment, or reward are entirely culturally mandated (Turpin 1986, 1995; Turpin and Kurtz 1997). One man’s murder may be another man’s righteousness, justice, or kindness. This is a central point of Neil Whitehead’s discussion of the poetics of violence, where he notes that we must understand violence as “a legitimate and socially constructive cultural performance” (2004, 60). Acts of violence for political or social purposes do not simply affect the corporeal body, but rather, target the individual and collective psyche, and are embedded in the ritual and symbolism of the culture in which they take place (Pérez 2012, 15). Thus we find instances of evisceration of pregnant women and forced cannibalism of family members during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, and removal of feet and hands of prisoners in the civil war in Sierra Leone, techniques that were carefully calculated to inspire horror and fear in the populace and to encourage compliance, obedience, and concepts of belonging and not belonging to certain groups (Pérez 2012; Whitehead 2004). Killing with hammers, mallets and other everyday implements in the ethnic cleansing of Bosnia provided both a method of killing that was convenient, and a way to inspire fear and horror by causing death with ordinary objects that were relatively

harmless under ordinary circumstances (Pérez 2012; Whitehead 2004). The causing of death in these modern examples is almost subsidiary to the performance; using mundane objects, or excessive violence, to mutilate and cause pain to individual victims, attacks and obliterates their identities in symbolic ways.

When applying the concept of poetics to the violent processing of human bodies, we must consider the complex cultural context in which all violent performances are enmeshed, not only in the present but in past cultures as well. What was violent to the ancient Egyptians may not have been viewed as violent to the Aztecs, or to us, and vice versa. With this in mind, then, let us consider how the Egyptians viewed violence, and how and why violent processing of bodies was used or not used within this society. In particular, I focus here on the use and performance of violence by, or at the behest of, the Egyptian king.

THE VIOLENT KING

As the apex of Egyptian religious, political, and cultural society, the ancient Egyptian king was expected to employ violence if necessary for the preservation of the Egyptian way of life, or in other circumstances as he deemed fit (Bestock 2017; Davis 1992; Emery 1974; Hall 1986; O'Connor 2011; Wengrow 2006; Wilkinson 2001, 2013). Because the Egyptian king was also a representative of the gods, and a god himself, all state-sanctioned violence was implicitly violence that also affected the spiritual realm. As a semidivine king and the earthly embodiment of the god Horus, the Egyptian king was responsible for maintaining *ma'at* (usually translated as “order,” referring to cosmic order, balance, and maintenance of the status quo) against the forces of chaos, or *isfet*, embodied by the god Seth (Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2005). Just as Horus had fought and defeated Seth to claim his rightful place as heir to the throne of Egypt, so the Egyptian king was tasked with continuing the struggle against the ever-present forces of *isfet* (Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2005; Gardiner 1932). Subjugation of the forces of evil and chaos (often as personified by enemy soldiers) was integral to the ideology of the kingship in ancient Egypt. Anyone who threatened *ma'at* had to be punished or eliminated to restore balance (Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2005). In such cases, violence would be viewed as not only the legitimate and right thing to do, but the absolute duty of the king to preserve the world and Egyptian society.

PERFORMING VIOLENCE

Public display of the king's performance of such ideologically charged violence would have been an invaluable way to demonstrate his virulence, strength, and right

to rule Egypt. Pérez discusses the nature of violence, particularly when enacted by a ruling power, as a socially constructed performance with a carefully selected target audience and, in many cases, a specifically chosen victim. Violence as a tool of control is meaningless without an audience, and thus acts of violence that are intended to manipulate and control spectators are enacted as if on a stage, with “props” (or tools to carry out the violent act) and a method of killing and/or processing that has been calculated to elicit the most powerful response (Pérez 2012). Killing an enemy in secret may stop that particular enemy but will not preclude others from similar actions; disposing of an enemy in front of numerous witnesses, however, and wreaking destruction on the body, sends a much more public and widespread message. Public sacrifice and execution provide a visceral understanding not only of the fate of those who resist the established authority, but also the power of the ruling figures (Carter 2013). Several texts reference the public, gruesome display of the corpses of defeated enemies by the Egyptian king (Filer 1997; Muhlestein 2008, 2011). By allowing these bodies to publicly decay, rather than having them properly buried according to Egyptian tradition, the Egyptian king simultaneously proclaimed his total destruction of the enemy and his power to keep the soul of the deceased from entering the afterlife.

The mode of death is often integral to the performance of violence. In cases of corporal punishment and execution, the mode of death may be calculated to make an example of the transgressor and dissuade others from repeating the crime. The technique used depends in part on the main goal of the killing; if dominance over a prisoner or enemy was intended, a particularly violent method of killing would be most effective to highlight the victim’s helplessness and annihilate the perceived source of rebellion or crime. By not only killing but utterly destroying one defeated enemy leader, the Egyptian king symbolically (and magically, to some degree) destroyed all enemies in that group, not just in that one moment but for all eternity.

In other cases, it may be enough to simply cause death in the most expedient way, for example in cases where court officials or retainers were killed to accompany a deceased leader into the afterlife. Even when the cause of death was major trauma, such as the blunt-force trauma to the cranium used to kill at least some of the individuals destined to accompany the rulers of Ur to the afterlife, the injury was obscured and the body arranged as if the trauma had never occurred (Baadsgaard, Boutin, and Buikstra 2012; Baadsgaard et al. 2011). The practice of human sacrifice in ancient Egypt has been much debated, due largely to the apparent absence of perimortem traumatic injury on the individuals, though all other features of the burials perfectly fit the patterns for sacrificial victims accompanying a ruler into the afterlife (Kaiser 1985; Morris 2007). It may be that we must uncouple our modern association of major trauma with human sacrifice, and instead look to the ways that

the ancient Egyptians perceived the ritual of sacrifice. Perhaps the ritual was not even viewed as violence but rather as a meaningful, and perhaps necessary, honor for those destined to dwell near their lord for all eternity.

The processing of the body after death provides an additional avenue for messages of power and domination. Disarticulation, mutilation, and annihilation of a corpse or representative of a person may be used to symbolize social and political victory and total power over both physical and spiritual life and death, while preservation of a body allowed rebirth into the eternal afterlife (Pérez 2012; Robben 2000; Varner 2013). In a culture that poured such effort into preparations for death, and that devoted so many resources to ensure that the deceased would enter the afterlife with every comfort they had enjoyed in life, manipulation of the corpse would have been a particular concern. The Egyptians believed that in order to successfully enter the afterlife, the body of the deceased had to be preserved, giving rise to some of the most elaborate mummification rituals the world has seen (Grajetzki 2003; Ikram and Dodson 1998). Some of the earliest-known Egyptian religious texts provide spells for avoiding fragmentation of the body, both in this life and the next (Allen 2015; Eyre 2002; Faulkner 2007). Damage to the body, before or after death, could have eternal consequences, and thus the threat of unwanted postmortem processing would have been a particularly powerful tool of power.

At a casual glance, the performance of violence in ancient Egypt seems to have most commonly occurred in art and text. Images of the king, poised to smash the heads of enemy captives, are carved and painted on monuments and objects across Egypt. This so-called “smiting motif” was used by Egyptian rulers as early as the Predynastic Period (c. 5300–3000 BC), and conveys a powerful image of the mighty pharaoh about to smash the heads of subdued enemy prisoners or rulers. Some texts (such as the Amada Stela of Amenhotep II) seem to indicate that the pharaoh occasionally killed defeated rulers with his own hands (Filer 1997; Muhlestein 2011). Other authors have addressed the textual and artistic references to capital punishment (Tyldesley 2000), execution of enemies (Bestock 2017; Davis 1992; Hall 1986), and warfare (Darnell and Manassa 2007; Spalinger 2005). Muhlestein (2011) presented a diachronic perspective of possible evidence for violent killing in ancient Egypt (see also Muhlestein 2008, 2015), but did not analyze human remains beyond a brief summary of possible cases of sanctioned violence.

Physical evidence of state-sanctioned violence is more scarce, a fact that has led many researchers to treat artistic and textual evidence of violence either in a positivist way (i.e., the images and descriptions of violence are an accurate representation of real events) or apologetically (the images of violence had little to no bearing on actual use of violence). The reality is certainly far more complex and nuanced, though a complete discussion is beyond the scope of this chapter. Some types of

violence are more difficult to identify than others. While execution (Anonymous 2012) was almost certainly enacted on living human victims as well as in royal imagery, physical evidence of such practices has been difficult to identify with certainty. There is some evidence to suggest that state-sanctioned human sacrifice also occurred in the early stages of Egyptian state formation (Crubézy and Midant-Reynes 2005; Petrie 1925). Manipulation of the body of enemies, such as display of the corpse or the taking of trophies from defeated enemies, was certainly practiced during some periods (Bietak 2012; Forstner-Müller et al. 2012).

Given the remarkable preservation of human remains from ancient Egypt, and the centuries of archaeological work conducted in Egypt, there is surprisingly little physical evidence of state-sanctioned violence against living (or even dead) victims. This is interesting in and of itself, as it suggests that while the Egyptians were perfectly willing to depict and enact violence in a variety of contexts and mediums, some evidence for violence in the physical world may have been actively concealed, and the bodies of the victims were processed as if the violence had not occurred (or were simply destroyed entirely). In some cases, postmortem processing was certainly intended to obscure violence. The most obvious example of this is the mummy of King Ramses III. Though ancient Egyptian legal records indicate that an assassination plot was hatched against the king, and the perpetrators caught and convicted, the plot was long believed to have been unsuccessful due to the absence of any clear wounds to the king's mummy (Peet 2005). More recent analysis with computed tomography and radiography, however, has revealed that the king's throat was cut, violently and deeply, and the wound carefully covered with bandages during the mummification process (Hawass et al. 2012; Redford 2002). This finding reiterates an important point about Egyptian beliefs about life after death: if a successful transition into the afterlife was desired, the body needed to be preserved in the best condition possible, unblemished and fully functional (Assman 2005; Ikram and Dodson 1998). Physical evidence of state-sanctioned violence in ancient Egypt, then, might only be displayed in particular circumstances. Thus, in cases of retainer sacrifice (i.e., individuals killed to accompany and serve their deceased ruler in the afterlife), there would be no need to highlight the occurrence of violence. Destruction of these individuals would impair their ability to serve their king in the afterlife, such that even if they were violently killed, the evidence of violence may have been purposely obscured in the postmortem processing of these remains, though we cannot discount the effects of taphonomy on evidence of violence.

The question of whether victims of state-sanctioned violence were willing or reluctant deserves mention here, however unanswerable in archaeological material. It may be that the willingness of the victim could affect the way that the remains were processed after death; perhaps willingness to die along with one's ruler was

rewarded with a proper burial, while the (presumed) unwillingness of a convicted criminal to die was punished by obliteration of the remains. However, in ancient Egypt (as in other ancient cultures), the act of sanctioned violence was part of an established system, with physical and spiritual obligations that needed to be fulfilled. The *process* of the violence, be it sacrifice, execution, or some other form of violence, was more important than the individual actors. While the quiescence of the victim may have had some impact on how the remains were processed, it seems to have been more or less irrelevant in comparison to the crucial process or ritual that needed to be completed. The processing of the body was part of the ritual, and had to be carried out in a culturally determined manner for the requisite obligations to be fulfilled.

Due to the lengthy history of Egyptian civilization, a comprehensive discussion of state-sanctioned violence and processing of human remains would require several volumes, and such is not the intent here. Instead, I focus on specific and clear examples of state-sanctioned violence, and the ways that the processing of the bodies from these rituals was designed to display or hide this violence in accordance with Egyptian ideals about kingship and *ma'at*. In particular, three cases are assessed: human sacrifice, execution, and trophy-taking.

HUMAN SACRIFICE IN EGYPT

The Egyptian belief in an afterlife much like an idealized earthly life encouraged individuals to take items with them to the grave, ranging from simple pots in poorer burials to the elaborate and costly funerary assemblages of the pharaohs (Assman 2005; Dodson and Ikram 2008; Grajetzki 2003; Ikram and Dodson 1998). Sometimes these grave goods seem to have included human lives as well, perhaps as simply another form of burial goods intended to accompany the pharaoh into the afterlife.

Evidence for sacrificial burial derives almost exclusively from Abydos in southern Egypt and, to a lesser degree, Saqqara in northern Egypt. The kings of the newly unified Egypt during the period now known as the Early Dynastic Period (c. 3000–2686 BC, including the First and Second Dynasties) encircled their royal tombs and separate funerary enclosures (of uncertain use but most likely for funerary rituals) with a row (or rows) of simple burials, a practice that then ceased and did not reappear in the same form for the rest of Egyptian history (Morris 2007; Petrie 1900, 1925; Shaw 2004).¹ These subsidiary burials are characterized by their orderly and discrete organization around a royal tomb and/or royal funerary enclosures, and typically include few grave goods (Morris 2007; Petrie 1900,

¹ All dates derived from Shaw (2004).

1925). When grave goods are present, they may include vessels, jewelry, tools, weapons, or sometimes items associated with the profession of the deceased (e.g., small boats or paints) (Morris 2007). Yet the apparent haste with which the graves were constructed—Petrie believed that the long walls had been laid out together and then the space between simply divided by partitions of mudbrick (Petrie 1900, 1925)—seems to suggest that expediency and haste were more important for these tombs than individual display. Though there is little evidence of perimortem lethal trauma, based on the observation that the (sometimes hundreds of) individuals surrounding the royal tombs of this period in Abydos appear to have been deposited all at the same time rather than over a period, many scholars have postulated human sacrifice (Kaiser 1985; Morris 2007; Petrie 1900, 1925; Wengrow 2006).

The subsidiary burials at Abydos were mainly excavated in 1922 by W.M. Flinders Petrie, who unlike many of his contemporaries, took copious notes and excavation photographs, and published his findings regularly (Petrie 1900, 1925). A first glance at Petrie's excavation notes and some of his photographs seems to indicate that these skeletons might seem to be relatively normal burials of the Early Dynastic Period in Egypt; as was standard for most burials of the time, the bodies were generally placed in a flexed position, unwrapped (artificial mummification was barely beginning at this time period), with a few grave goods such as ceramic vessels and stone or copper tools (Grajetzki 2003; Ikram 2015; Petrie 1900, 1925). A closer examination, however, reveals several interesting aspects. According to Petrie's excavation notes and photographs, one individual had his or her legs tied together, and then tied to the thighs. The head was also raised when the body was uncovered. Another was found with the right leg raised, and during excavation Petrie propped up the leg with bricks to preserve this position for the excavation photo. Several individuals had one arm that appears twisted or flung to the side, as if the body had been flung into the pit with little care (Petrie 1925).

Unfortunately, the cause of death for these individuals has proved difficult or impossible to determine. Many of the burials were heavily looted and disturbed even before Petrie began his excavations (Petrie 1900, 1925). As was fairly standard practice for the time, Petrie retained only the crania that he felt were of interest, and reburied the postcranial remains (thus rendering them difficult to access, given the complexities of obtaining excavation permits for Abydos, and in Egypt in general) (Petrie 1925). The crania that he retained were distributed to museums, mostly in the United Kingdom (Petrie 1900, 1925), where they are currently under study by this author. Some individuals do show evidence of perimortem lethal trauma, and some do not. Of course, we cannot dismiss the possibility that soft-tissue trauma was the cause of death. Petrie's suggestion that the individuals were stunned and then buried alive (Petrie 1925) should be taken with a healthy dose of skepticism,

falling, as it does, well within the tradition of Woolley's rather melodramatic contemporary interpretation of the funerary scenes at the royal tombs in Ur (Molleson and Hodgson 2003; Woolley and Burrows 1934).

The similar subsidiary graves at Macramallah's Rectangle in Saqqara, believed to also date to the First and Second Dynasties, are similar in many ways to those at Abydos, and show additional evidence of social stratification as demonstrated by the quality (e.g., stone or alabaster dishes in some graves vs. clay vessels in others) and quantity of grave goods (Morris 2007). The location of each burial also seems to have been a statement of status; Morris notes that the richest subsidiary sacrificial burials at Macramallah's Rectangle were those nearest and to the right of the proposed location of the king's body (i.e., to the king's right if he was facing the same direction as the sacrificial victims), while farther burials contained fewer and lower-quality grave goods. Many of the sacrificial victims were young adult males, but adult females were also interred in the subsidiary graves, as were children (though since only the crania were retained from the original excavations, determination of sex was not always possible or reliably accurate) (Morris 2007).

Despite the absence of secure causes of death, retainer sacrifice seems the most likely explanation for these subsidiary burials. The simultaneous closure of all subsidiary burials around a single royal tomb argues against the later practice of individually constructed tombs for officials that were utilized at different times as their owners died naturally (Dodson and Ikram 2008; Grajetzki 2003; Reisner 2011). The social and political landscape of the Early Dynastic Period provides textbook conditions for human sacrifice, based on comparisons from clear human sacrifice in societies from around the world (Cameron 1987; Kuhrt 1987; Morris 2007; Sagan 1985, 1993; Shannon 2002; Walker 1989). The new rulers of Egypt were faced with unifying a diverse range of cultural groups clustered along hundreds of miles of the Nile Valley, and the death of each of these rulers would have drawn the nascent Egyptian state closer to the ever-looming threat of chaos (Hoffman 1979; Kemp 2005; Midant-Reynes 2000; O'Connor 2011; Shaw 2004; Wengrow 2006; Wilkinson 2001). The ultimate control of the ruler over life and death would have been displayed to powerful effect by mass human sacrifices (Morris 2007). This form of conspicuous consumption solidified the ruler's position and encouraged the populace to accept the new political system.

The processing of these bodies in these subsidiary tombs bears particular mention. In cases of human sacrifice throughout the world, the mode of death, and the way the remains are processed after death, depends in part on the purpose of the sacrifice: is the point of the sacrifice to cause death and thus liberate or give that individual's life force to something else, or is the point of the sacrifice to embark on a journey into the afterlife with a deceased ruler or important person? In the

case of the Central and South American human sacrifices, rituals often involved much bloodshed and pain, because part of the purpose was to share or release the sacrificed individual's life force, often with the sacrificer or victor (Benson and Cook 2001; Geller 2011; Klaus, Centurión, and Curo 2010; Read 1998). Such rituals have left clear markers on the human remains that are easily identifiable as state-sanctioned, ritualized violence (Klaus, Centurión, and Curo 2010).

Yet not all sacrifices are the same. If the main goal of the killing is conspicuous consumption and power over life and death, as is often the case of retainer sacrifice (i.e., the sacrifice of members of the court, often including officials, wives and concubines, and servants or slaves), it may be unnecessary to utterly destroy the sacrificial victims, since the purpose is at least partly to display the ruler's ultimate power over life and death. Death may simply be another stage in a journey, a threshold that must be crossed, rather than a glorification of violence and power. In such situations, it may even be undesirable to obliterate or "damage" the victim, since doing so could inhibit the ability of the victim to serve his or her ruler in the afterlife. For example, the sacrifices at the Royal Tomb at Ur were not really focused on causing death at all; rather, the purpose was to create a moment in time that would persist for eternity (Baadsgaard et al. 2011; Baadsgaard, Monge, and Zettler 2012; Molleson and Hodgson 2003). While the human sacrificees at Ur were still violently killed (Baadsgaard et al. 2011; Baadsgaard, Monge, and Zettler 2012), care was taken to arrange the bodies in such a way that the violent aspects of their death were hidden or at least not emphasized. To some degree, this seems to also be the case in Egypt. While the position of the bodies in the Abydos and Saqqara subsidiary burials seems to hint at some sort of coercion and perhaps even careless deposition of the bodies themselves, the corpses do not appear to have been ritually manipulated, damaged, or displayed after death. It seems that the focus was on preparing to follow the leader into the afterlife, rather than on the violence of death itself. Death may have even been considered somewhat of a necessary side-effect of remaining loyal to the king for all eternity. Whatever the rituals practiced before death, violence was not overtly or explicitly displayed in the processing of the remains after death.

Perhaps the reason for this nonviolent processing lies in the identity of those buried in these subsidiary burials. The fact that these individuals all received some type of mortuary treatment (i.e., a tomb and generally some grave goods) seems to indicate some level of respect (Petrie 1900, 1925). The inclusion of typically Egyptian artifacts in some of the graves supports the hypothesis that the interred, at least in death, were identified as Egyptians (Morris 2007; Petrie 1900, 1925). It seems that they were accorded some degree of honor, based on the inclusion of grave goods and the proximity to the royal tombs and enclosures, as well as the overall health of the individuals (Keita and Boyce 2006). The king exercised his divine control over

life and death by decreeing that these individuals accompany him into the afterlife, but this was the extent of the message. Further violent processing of the remains was not necessary, and manipulation or display would likely have been viewed as undesirable. The bodies of those serving the king in the afterlife needed to be intact to better serve their lord, and the populace that was not sacrificed had already been convinced that dictating who lived and who died was a royal prerogative. In fact, the Egyptians may not have viewed this practice as violent at all, but simply a way to extend service to the king into the afterlife.

EXECUTION

In contrast to the relatively nonviolent processing of sacrificial victims (however violent their actual demise may have been), execution as a state-sanctioned violent practice took a very different approach. While evidence for execution is mostly limited to textual records, the nature of these records (e.g., legal documents rather than ritualistic religious texts) suggests that execution was indeed practiced for a variety of reasons. A few texts contain brief and often oblique references to capital punishment, which was seemingly only enforced in cases of robbery of royal tombs or regicide (Muhlestein 2011, 2015; Tyldesley 2000). Interference with the divine cult (e.g., robbery of temple property) also elicited severe punishments, and some scholars believe that punishment for such offenses included mutilation and destruction of the perpetrator's body by fire, in life or after death (Muhlestein 2008, 2011, 2015; Willems 1990). Such a punishment would have lasting effects beyond death; without a body, the deceased would not be able to enter the afterlife, and his or her spirit would be doomed to wander restlessly between worlds for all eternity (Assman 2005; Grajetzki 200; Hornung 1993; Ikram and Dodson 1998). It is interesting, but unsurprising, that so few physical remains of executed individuals have been found from ancient Egypt. Ideologically, the purpose of any execution, as a state-mandated punishment, was to punish the transgressor for disrupting *ma'at* in some way. Perhaps there are so few obviously executed individuals in archaeological contexts because the bodies were ritually destroyed to symbolize the complete power and dominance of the Egyptian king, and the restoration of *ma'at*.

Execution was, of course, one of the most serious punishments that could be meted out in the earthly realm, and seems to have been retained for offenses against the Egyptian concept of *ma'at*: in practical terms, this generally meant offenses against the king (as the divine incarnation of the god Horus) and the gods, such as rebellion, robbery of royal tombs, or theft of sacred or royal property (Muhlestein 2011; Tyldesley 2000). Two distinct types of execution appear to have been practiced in ancient Egypt: capital punishment and execution of war captives.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

According to legal accounts, individuals found guilty of tomb robbery in the New Kingdom (c. 1550–1069 BC) seem to have been impaled (Muhlestein 2011; Tyldesley 2000). There is some evidence that as early as the Middle Kingdom, Senwosret I impaled those who desecrated the temple at Tod (south of modern Luxor), but most references to impalement derive from the New Kingdom, particularly the Ramesside period (Muhlestein 2011). This punishment is explicitly recorded for royal tomb robbers in Papyrus Amherst, which also describes the interrogation of suspects (which included beating suspects on the soles of their feet) and sentences of impalement for the conspirators found guilty of robbing royal tombs (Muhlestein 2011; Peet 2005). The hieroglyphic determinative for impalement, accompanying the phrase *diw Hr tp Xt* (“to put on top of stakes” according to Muhlestein 2011, 54) does appear to unambiguously show a figure being (or about to be) impaled atop a stake (figure 7.1) (Peet 2005).

The texts do not record whether the offenders were dead or still alive when impaled, and thus is it possible (if perhaps unlikely) that death occurred in a different manner, and impalement served as a highly visible performance of social and criminal justice. These transgressors may or may not have been alive when they were placed on stakes, but either way the public display of their bodies would have served as a grisly reminder of the consequences of such crimes (Muhlestein 2011; Tyldesley 2000). The decay and subsequent fragmentation of the body would have rendered the deceased incapable of entering the afterlife, a fate far worse than death in the Egyptian mindset. In this case, it seems likely that beyond the impalement, the bodies were purposely not processed, or were processed in a way that effectively removed them from the world of the living and the dead, and perhaps even from memory.

Isolated textual references may hint that drowning and burning were also used as forms of capital punishment (Muhlestein 2011, 2015; Tyldesley 2000; Willems 1990). Death by burning or drowning would have been a particularly powerful punishment because the body would be destroyed or lost, thus eliminating any possibility of an afterlife for the accused (Muhlestein 2011, 2015; Willems 1990). Muhlestein mentions punishment for those responsible for the decay of the Temple of Tod during the Middle Kingdom, who were subject to “flaying, beheading, and burning” (Muhlestein 2015, 245), while Willems notes that “the enemies [responsible for desecrating the temple] have been placed on the brazier” (Willems 1990, 41). Tyldesley also notes references to burning as punishment for vandalism of a temple, theft of state property, and rebellion against the king, and notes that such executions were likely held in public locations to serve as grim reminders of the consequences of such serious crimes (Tyldesley 2000). Death by burning, as a way of destroying someone utterly and thus precluding any chance to enter the afterlife,

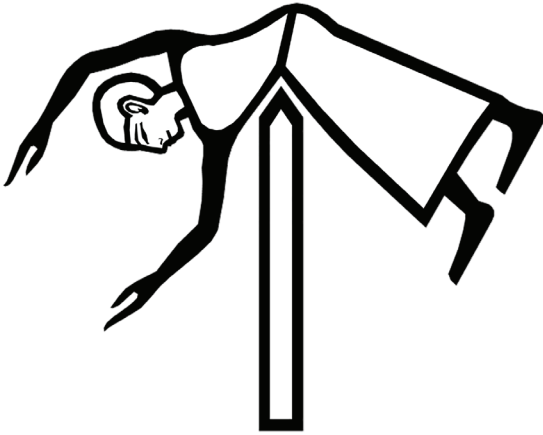


FIGURE 7.1. The hieroglyphic determinative depicting what appears to be an individual being (or about to be) impaled. (Hieroglyph typed using the JSesh program: fair use; Rosmorduc 2014.)

would almost certainly be considered a fate worse than death, and the author of this tale may have thus been attempting to reinforce the severity and magnitude of the crime of murder. However, without more direct textual references or (in an ideal but somewhat unlikely scenario) archaeological or bioarchaeological evidence of such practices, it is difficult to say whether these dramatic punishments were enforced in real life.

EXECUTION OF WAR CAPTIVES

While war captives were almost certainly executed, probably publicly, there is little physical evidence to support this assessment. Textual records note numerous cases of not only execution of defeated enemies, but display of the bodies. Enemy leaders were more likely to be brutally executed than other, lower-ranking captives; after a particularly triumphant campaign in the Levant, Amenhotep II records on the Amada Stela that he brought seven defeated princes back to Thebes, tied to the prow of his boat, before displaying their bodies at Thebes and Gebel Barkal (the verb tense in this account is unfortunately ambiguous regarding whether the princes were slain before or after they were brought back to Thebes) (Filer 1997). There is also some textual evidence suggesting that captives may have been publicly executed in Thebes after victorious campaigns (Muhlestein 2011). The viceroy Djehutymose subdued a rebellion during the reign of Akhenaten, and on a stela at Buhen, Djehutymose boasted that he placed some of the captured rebels “atop a stake,” likely indicating public impalement (Darnell and Manassa 2007). Whether the victims were alive or already deceased upon impalement cannot be determined,

but this practice seems to have been quite rarely used as punishment for rebels (Darnell and Manassa 2007). One of the Amarna letters (EA 101) seems to suggest that a rebellious Amorite king was captured and executed by the forces of Amenhotep III (Darnell and Manassa 2007; Muhlestein 2011).

Physical evidence of such executions, however, is extremely limited. The most famous and perhaps only known example, was that of a bound and decapitated individual who seems to have been part of a foundation deposit for the Temple of Mut in Luxor (Anonymous 2012). Foundation deposits, intended to dedicate or bless a new construction project and buried near or under part of the structure, are common throughout Egypt, but no other known examples include human remains. This individual was bound and decapitated and placed beneath a temple pillar, presumably to dedicate the temple and demonstrate Egypt's total victory over enemies (Anonymous 2012). The posture of the body calls to mind the familiar images of defeated captives, bound and beheaded, dating to as early as the Early Dynastic Period. By rendering the enemy impotent, both physically and ideologically by fragmentation of the body, and by interring the body in a ritual space, the Egyptian king was demonstrating his eternal victory over the forces of *isfet* (in this case, personified by the deceased individual).

TROPHY-TAKING

Trophy-taking has long been used by cultures around the world for a variety of purposes, though perhaps the most common form of trophy-taking is intended to provide a physical marker or count of victory (Andrushko, Schwitalla, and Walker 2010; Finucane 2008, Forstner-Müller et al. 2012; Tung 2008, 2012; Zimmerman 1997). While trophy-taking in Egypt has often been overlooked, tantalizing evidence of such practices has emerged not only in the artistic record but also in archaeological contexts.

Enemy soldiers who were already dead (or perhaps were dying) were likely mutilated; Egyptian reliefs frequently show piles of severed hands or genitalia that are used to tally the number of defeated enemy soldiers in a graphic display of victory (Bestock 2017; Darnell and Manassa 2007). For example, the walls at the mortuary temple of Medinet Habu (built by Ramses III during his reign from 1184 to 1153 BC) in modern Luxor show piles of severed hands and male genitalia that had been collected from defeated enemy soldiers as a way of enumerating the defeated enemy, and a depiction of King Horemheb defeating Asiatics and Sea People shows at least two fallen soldiers whose right hands had already been severed (Darnell and Manassa 2007). The removal of what was likely the sword hand for most soldiers (or even a depiction of such mutilation) would have magically rendered the victim mutilated and weakened.

Though such practices have often been viewed as purely symbolic, physical evidence has emerged in a few cases. Perhaps the most obvious confirmation that trophy-taking was indeed practiced in Egypt is in the collection of severed hands found at Tell el Dab'a in late 2011 (Bietak 2012; Forstner-Müller et al. 2012). In front of a Second Intermediate Period (c.1650–1550 BC, though these dates are currently being revised) palace, Bietak and his team found two pits; inside each pit was a single right hand (Bietak 2012). Two more pits were found from an (unspecified) earlier building phase, containing an additional fourteen hands in total. Bietak notes that some of the hands “were of extraordinary size and robustness” (Bietak 2012, 43). Perhaps these hands were presented as offerings, tokens of victory, at or near the temple (Bietak 2012). While the ostensible purpose for collecting these hands was to count the fallen enemy soldiers, even removal of a hand (the right hand seems to have been favored) from a living victim would have minimally made the victims a less effective or ineffective soldier, and could easily have caused death from infection and blood loss (Bietak 2012). Obviously the severing of genitalia from soldiers would have similar effects, though such trophies are less likely to survive in the archaeological record. In an ideological sense, both the male hand and genitalia were strongly linked to new life and fertility, and the removal of these organs would also disallow the revivification of the deceased enemy’s spirit (Cooney 2010, 224).

Whether the king personally cut off these grisly trophies or not is somewhat irrelevant, because according to Egyptian ideology, it was the king who was ultimately responsible for subduing all enemies, restoring *ma'at*, and by extension, collecting the spoils and trophies of war. Since the hands were derived (presumably) from enemy soldiers, the rest of the bodies were likely left on the battlefield to decay or be retrieved by survivors. The deposition of the hands in front of the palace at Tell el Dab'a suggests that they may have been intended as a foundation deposit, or perhaps as a dedicatory offering in gratitude to the gods for the triumph of Egyptian forces. In this respect, it could be argued that these hands were processed as objects, since Egyptian kings often offered up the spoils of war as gratitude for victory in battle. At the same time, the hands were not objects, but were parts of human beings who were viewed as the forces of *isfet*, and thus may be considered as a symbolic combination of execution and (non-retainer) human sacrifice in the pursuit of *ma'at*.

WHEN IS VIOLENCE VIOLENT?

It seems clear from the examples discussed here that the ancient Egyptians were no more and no less violent than any other civilization throughout history. The Egyptian king was expected to, and apparently did, use violence in specific, culturally defined circumstances. These violent rituals manipulated Egyptian ideas and

beliefs as they manipulated human bodies, creating the most powerful message for a specific context. As Whitehead has noted, violence in such cases was not an aberration at all, but a legitimate and socially expected course of action (Whitehead 2004, 60). The legitimacy of the violence depended on the context and the actors involved; presumably the slaughter of a fellow human being by an ordinary citizen was viewed differently, both practically and mythologically, from the king's slaughter of a real and/or symbolic enemy of Egypt.

Yet paradoxically, in some cases the processing of the remains of what may seem the most violent rituals (such as execution or human sacrifice) has rendered these practices almost invisible to modern eyes. If we fail to consider the ancient Egyptian ideology of kingship, life after death, and beliefs about the proper way the world should operate, we may miss the evidence for these practices altogether. For the Egyptians, violence affected both the physical and the spiritual worlds, and the processing of the body of a victim of violence was directly influenced by the purpose and context of the violence. The bodies of defeated enemies had to be rendered impotent not only in this world but the next, and a variety of methods of mutilation and destruction ensured that the corpse could not return as a vengeful spirit.

Conversely, the bodies of those who seem to have been sacrificed to accompany their ruler into the afterlife were treated with some level of respect, not only in the placement of their graves but in the inclusion of grave goods to take into the afterlife (Morris 2007; Petrie 1900, 1925). While we may view any form of human sacrifice as violent and radical, the Egyptians may have viewed this practice as a nonviolent and necessary component of a royal burial. Perhaps this explains the lack of obvious lethal trauma on some of the human remains from these graves; the perpetrators may have taken care to choose a relatively painless or quick method of inducing death (and thus, perhaps, archaeologically invisible), since the point of the ritual was not suffering but rebirth and renewal in the next world. It could perhaps even be theorized that the preservation of the bodies of victims, as in cases of human sacrifice, constituted cultural acceptance of the practice. Both the violence of death and the subsequent preservation of the bodies were part of a larger ritual, firmly grounded in Egyptian beliefs about the role of the king and the afterlife.

CONCLUSION

As Whitehead (2004, 65) noted, "violence cannot be treated as extracultural." If we are to understand how, when, and why violence and violent processing is practiced in particular circumstances, we cannot divorce such acts from their deep cultural backgrounds. The ancient Egyptians expected the king to employ what we would consider violence in a variety of specific situations, and the application of these

violent rituals enforced ideas about the workings of the world and what it meant to be Egyptian. By damaging and mutilating the human body, or minimally, by causing death, the Egyptians conveyed messages of inclusion and exclusion, and enacted and reenacted rituals of both sacred and mundane significance. Processing of the human bodies involved in these rituals was fraught with religious and social meaning. Although this study has focused on ancient Egypt, the intent is also to highlight the differences and similarities in the ways that humans use violent processing as a tool of social, political, and economic power and control, and how processing of human remains associated with violent rituals may display, continue, or obscure this violence (Krohn-Hansen 1994). Perhaps, if we can gain a greater understanding of how cultures in the past understood, used, and even celebrated violence, we can begin to evaluate the patterns and effects of violence within our own society, where proximity and familiarity may obscure the broad patterns.

REFERENCES

- Allen, James P. 2015. *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*. 2nd ed. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press.
- Andrushko, Valerie A., Al W. Schwitalla, and Phillip L. Walker. 2010. "Trophy-Taking and Dismemberment as Warfare Strategies in Prehistoric Central California." *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 141 (1): 83–96.
- Anonymous. 2012. "Hopkins in Egypt Today." <http://pages.jh.edu/~egypttoday/2012/index2012.html>, May–June 2012.
- Assman, Jan. 2005. *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*. Translated by David Lorton. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Baadsgaard, Aubrey, Alexis T. Boutin, and Jane Buikstra, eds. 2012. *Breathing New Life into the Evidence of Death: Contemporary Approaches to Bioarchaeology*. Advanced Seminar Series. Santa Fe, NM: SAR Press.
- Baadsgaard, Aubrey, Janet Monge, Samantha Cox, and Richard L. Zettler. 2011. "Human Sacrifice and Intentional Corpse Preservation in the Royal Cemetery of Ur." *Antiquity* 85 (327): 27–42.
- Baadsgaard, Aubrey, Janet Monge, and Richard L. Zettler. 2012. "Bludgeoned, Burned, and Beautified: Reevaluating Mortuary Practices in the Royal Cemetery at Ur." In *Sacred Killing: The Archaeology of Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, edited by A. Porter and G. M. Schwartz, 125–158. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Benson, Elizabeth P., and A. G. Cook, eds. 2001. *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Berger, Thomas D., and Erik Trinkaus. 1995. "Patterns of Trauma among the Neandertals." *Journal of Archaeological Science* 22 (6): 841–852.

- Bestock, Lauren. 2017. *Violence and Power in Ancient Egypt: Image and Ideology before the New Kingdom*. London: Routledge.
- Bietak, Manfred. 2012. "The Archaeology of the 'Gold of Valour.'" *Egyptian Archaeology* 42: 32–33.
- Cameron, A. 1987. "The Construction of Court Ritual: The Byzantine Book of Ceremonies." In *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, edited by D. Cannadine and S.R.F. Prince, 106–136. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Carman, John. 1997. "Introduction: Approaches to Violence." In *Material Harm: Archaeological Studies of War and Violence*, edited by John Carman, 1–23. Glasgow, UK: Cruithne Press.
- Carter, Michael J. 2013. "'Persuade the People': Violence and Roman Spectacle Entertainment in the Greek World." In *The Archaeology of Violence: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, 158–168. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Cooney, Kathlyn M. 2010. "Gender Transformation in Death: A Case Study of Coffins from Ramesside Period Egypt." *Near Eastern Archaeology* 73: 224–237.
- Crubézy, É., and B. Midant-Reynes. 2005. "Les sacrifices humains à l'époque prédynastique: l'apport de la nécropole d'Adaïma." In *Le sacrifice humain en Égypte ancienne et ailleurs*, edited by J.-P. Albert and B. Midant-Reynes, 58–81. Soleb, Sudan.
- Darnell, J. C., and C. Manassa. 2007. *Tutankhamun's Armies: Battle and Conquest During Ancient Egypt's Late 18th Dynasty*. New York: Wiley.
- Davis, Whitney. 1992. *Masking the Blow: The Scene of Representation in Late Prehistoric Egyptian Art*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Dodson, Aidan, and Salima Ikram. 2008. *The Tomb in Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Dunand, Françoise, and Christiane Zivie-Coche. 2005. *Gods and Men in Egypt: 3000 BCE to 395 CE*. David Lorton. Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press.
- Eller, Jack David. 2010. *Cruel Creeds, Virtuous Violence: Religious Violence across Culture and History*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Emery, Walter B., ed. 1974. *Archaic Egypt: Culture and Civilization in Egypt Five Thousand Years Ago*. London: Penguin Books.
- Eyre, C. 2002. *Cannibal Hymn: A Cultural and Literary Study*. Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press.
- Faulkner, R. O. 2007. *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*. Stilwell, KS: Digireads.com.
- Filer, J. M. 1997. "Ancient Egypt and Nubia as a Source of Information for Violent Cranial Injuries." In *Material Harm: Archaeological Studies of War and Violence*, edited by John Carman, 47–74. Glasgow, UK: Cruithne Press.

- Finucane, Brian. 2008. "Trophy Heads from Nawinpukio, Perú: Physical and Chemical Analysis of Huarpa-era Modified Human Remains." *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 135 (1): 75–84.
- Forstner-Müller, I., M. Bietak, M. Lehmann, and C. Reali. 2012. "Report on the Excavations at Tell el Dab'a 2011." http://www.auaris.at/html/index_en.html.
- Gardiner, Alan Henderson. 1932. *Late Egyptian Stories*. Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth.
- Geller, P. L. 2011. "The Sacrifices We Make of and for Our Children: Making Sense of Pre-Columbian Maya Practices." In *Breathing New Life into the Evidence of Death: Contemporary Approaches to Bioarchaeology*, edited by Aubrey Baadsgaard, Alexis T. Boutin, and J. Buikstra, 79–105. Santa Fe, NM: SAR Press.
- Grajetzki, Wolfram. 2003. *Burial Customs in Ancient Egypt: Life in Death for Rich and Poor*. 2nd ed. London: Duckworth.
- Hall, Emma Swan. 1986. *The Pharaoh Smites His Enemies: A Comparative Study*. München: Deutscher Kunstverlag.
- Hawass, Zahi, Somaia Ismail, Ashraf Selim, Sahar N. Saleem, Dina Fathalla, Sally Wasef, Ahmed Z. Gad, Rama Saad, Suzan Fares, Hany Amer, Paul Gostner, Yehia Gad, Carsten M. Pusch, and Albert R. Zink. 2012. "Revisiting the Harem Conspiracy and Death of Ramesses III: Anthropological, Forensic, Radiological, and Genetic Study." *BMJ: British Medical Journal* 345, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.e8268>.
- Hoffman, Michael A. 1979. *Egypt before the Pharaohs: The Prehistoric Foundations of Egyptian Civilization*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Hornung, Erik. 1993. *Der Eine Und Die Vielen*. Darmstadt: WBG Academic.
- Ikram, Salima. 2015. *Death and Burial in Ancient Egypt*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Ikram, Salima, and Aidan Dodson. 1998. *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt: Equipping the Dead for Eternity*. New York: Thames and Hudson.
- Kaiser, W. 1985. "Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im früheithlichen Königsfriedhof. 2. Vorbericht." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 38: 211–269.
- Keita, S O.Y., and A. J. Boyce. 2006. "Variation in Porotic Hyperostosis in the Royal Cemetery Complex at Abydos, Upper Egypt: A Social Interpretation." *Antiquity* 80 (307): 64–73.
- Kemp, Barry. 2005. *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*. New York: Routledge.
- Klaus, Haagen C., C. Centurión, and M. Curo. 2010. "Bioarchaeology of Human Sacrifice: Violence, Identity and the Evolution of Ritual Killings at Cerro Cerillos, Peru." *Antiquity* 2010: 1102–1122.

- Knüsel, C. J., and Martin J. Smith, eds. 2013. *The Handbook of the Bioarchaeology of Human Conflict*. New York: Routledge.
- Krohn-Hansen, Christian. 1994. "The Anthropology of Violent Interaction." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 50 (4): 367–381.
- Kuhrt, A. 1987. "Usurpation, Conquest, and Ceremonial: From Babylon to Persia." In *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, edited by D. Cannadine and S. R. F. Prince, 20–55. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Martin, Debra L., and David W. Frayer, eds. 1997. *Troubled Times: Violence and Warfare in the Past*. Volume 3: *War and Society*. New York: Routledge.
- Martin, Debra L., Ryan P. Harrod, and Ventura R. Pérez. 2012. *The Bioarchaeology of Violence*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Midant-Reynes, Beatrix. 2000. *The Prehistory of Egypt: From the First Egyptians to the First Pharaohs*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Molleson, Theya, and Dawn Hodgson. 2003. "The Human Remains from Woolley's Excavations at Ur." *Iraq* 65: 91–129.
- Morris, Ellen F. 2007. "Sacrifice for State: First Dynasty Royal Funerals and the Rites at Macramallah's Rectangle." In *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, edited by Nicola Laneri, 15–38. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Muhlestein, Kerry. 2008. "Royal Executions: Evidence Bearing on the Subject of Sanctioned Killing in the Middle Kingdom." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 51 (2): 181–208.
- Muhlestein, Kerry. 2011. "Violence in the Service of Order: The Religious Framework for Sanctioned Killing in Ancient Egypt." *Near Eastern Archaeology* 78 (4): 244–251.
- Muhlestein, Kerry. 2015. "Sacred Violence: When Ancient Egyptian Punishment was Dressed in Ritual Trappings." *Near Eastern Archaeology* 78 (4): 244–251.
- O'Connor, David. 2011. *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Peet, T. E. 2005. *The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty: Being A Critical Study, with Translations and Commentaries, of the Papyri in Which These Are Recorded*. Eastford, CT: Martino Publishers.
- Pérez, Ventura R. 2012. "The Politicization of the Dead: Violence as Performance, Politics as Usual." In *The Bioarchaeology of Violence*, edited by Debra L. Martin, Ryan P. Harrod, and Ventura Pérez, 13–28. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Petrie, Flinders. 1900. *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty, 1900–1901*. Edited by Francis L. Griffith. London and Boston: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- Petrie, W. Flinders. 1925. *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account.

- Porter, A., and G. M. Schwartz, eds. 2012. *Sacred Killing: The Archaeology of Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Ralph, S., ed. 2013. *The Archaeology of Violence: Interdisciplinary Approaches*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Read, K. 1998. *Time and Sacrifice in the Aztec Cosmos*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Redfern, Rebecca. 2017. *Injury and Trauma in Bioarchaeology: Interpreting Violence in Past Lives*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Redford, S. 2002. *The Harem Conspiracy: The Murder of Ramesses III*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press.
- Reisner, George Andrew. 2011. *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops*. Whitefish, MT: Literary Licensing.
- Robben, A.C.G.M. 2000. "The Assault of Basic Trust: Disappearances, Protest, and Reburial in Argentina." In *Cultures Under Siege: Collective violence and Trauma*, edited by A.C.G.M. Robben and M. M. Suárez-Orozco, 70–101. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosmorduc, Serge. 2014. JSesh Documentation. <http://jseshdoc.qenherkhopeshef.org>. Accessed May 4, 2018.
- Sagan, Eli. 1985. *At the Dawn of Tyranny: The Origins of Individualism, Political Oppression, and the State*. New York: Knopf.
- Sagan, Eli. 1993. *Cannibalism: Human Aggression and Cultural Forms*. Santa Fe, NM: FirstDrum.
- Shannon, U. 2002. "Private Armies and the Decline of the State." In *Violence and Politics: Globalization's Paradox*, edited by K. Worcester, S. A. Bermannzohn, and M. Ungar, 32–47. New York: Routledge.
- Shaw, I. 2004. *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt. New edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Spalinger, A. 2005. *War in Ancient Egypt*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- Thrift, N. 2007. "Immaculate Warfare? The Spatial Politics of Extreme Violence." In *Violent Geographies: Fear, Terror, and Political Violence*, edited by Derek Gregory and Allan Pred, 273–294. New York: Routledge.
- Tung, Tiffany A. 2008. "Dismembering Bodies for Display: A Bioarchaeological Study of Trophy Heads from the Wari Site of Conchopata, Peru." *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 136 (3): 294–308.
- Tung, Tiffany A. 2012. *Violence, Ritual, and the Wari Empire: A Social Bioarchaeology of Imperialism in the Ancient Andes*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Turpin, Jennifer. 1986. "Rape as a Social Problem." In *The Austin Rape Crisis Center Training Manual* 1–35. Austin, TX: Austin Rape Crisis Center.

- Turpin, Jennifer. 1995. *Reinventing the Social Self: Media and Social Change in the Former Soviet Union*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Turpin, Jennifer, and Lester R. Kurtz, eds. 1997. *The Web of Violence: From Interpersonal to Global*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Tyldesley, Joyce. 2000. *Judgement of the Pharaoh: Crime and Punishment in Ancient Egypt*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Varner, E. R. 2013. "Violent Discourses: Visual Cannibalism and the Portraits of Rome's 'Bad' Emperors." In *The Archaeology of Violence*, edited by S. Ralph, 121–142. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Walker, Phillip L. 1989. "Cranial Injuries as Evidence of Violence in Prehistoric Southern California." *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 80 (3): 313–323.
- Wengrow, D. 2006. *The Archaeology of Early Egypt: Social Transformations in North-East Africa, c. 10,000 to 2,650 B.C.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Whitehead, Neil L. 2004. "On the Poetics of Violence." In *Violence*, edited by Neil L. Whitehead, 55–78. Santa Fe, NM: SAR Press.
- Whitehead, Neil L. 2007. "Violence and the Cultural Order." *Daedalus* 136 (1): 40–50. doi: 10.2307/20028088.
- Wilkinson, Toby A.H. 2001. *Early Dynastic Egypt*. Revised edition. London and New York: Routledge.
- Wilkinson, Toby A.H. 2013. *The Rise and Fall of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Random House Trade Paperback.
- Willems, H. 1990. "Crime, Cult and Capital Punishment (Mo'alla Inscription 8)." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 76: 27–54.
- Woolley, Leonard, and E. R. Burrows. 1934. *Ur Excavations. Volume II: The Royal Cemetery: A Report on the Predynastic and Sargonic Graves Excavated between 1926 and 1931*. London: British Museum, and Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania.
- Zimmerman, Larry J. 1997. "The Crow Creek Massacre: Archaeology and Prehistoric Plains Warfare in Contemporary Contexts." In *Material Harm: Archaeological Studies of War and Violence*, edited by John Carman, 75–94. Glasgow, UK: Cruithne Press.
- Zollikofer, Christoph P. E., Marcia S. Ponce de León, Bernard Vandermeersch, and François Lévêque. 2002. "Evidence for Interpersonal Violence in the St. Césaire Neanderthal." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 99 (9): 6444–6448.